5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva O...3
Mountain Orokaiva

says that at the end of original time, warfare became an intrinsic part of social life. Two more specific messages emerge:

1. The institution created by the thief was *isoro* (intertribal warfare) which was cogently distinguished by Williams (1930: 160–6) from *embogi* (inter-clan fighting). *Isoro*, as opposed to *embogi*, takes place between groups who are geographically fairly distant, are often the speakers of different languages or dialects, and who do not usually maintain close social relations. In *isoro*, but not *embogi*, men fight to kill and eat each other. The myth therefore provides a charter for an institution by which social groups are in permanent strife with one another and permanently seek to kill and eat each other.

2. The myth states that this trife, in particular, divides the people from up-hill and down-valley. I have already pointed out that the main immediate cause of warfare around Mount Lamington was pressure of population generated on the fertile foothills, which led to groups being driven downwards, while these groups in turn drove the valley people further and further from the mountain to less desirable territory.

The social philosophy expressed in this myth is therefore based partly on the observation of ecological realities. Given a fertile centre and an increasingly infertile, but practically boundless periphery, strife is indeed endemic between social groups because the centre will continue to develop a denser population than it can support, and will always be able to muster much bigger raiding parties than the sparsely populated hinterland. It may lose battles now and then but in the long run it must be able to drive its excess population downwards. Thus the opposing forces will tend to be placed, as the myth says, up-hill and down-valley. The historical facts, as reported by Chinnery and Beaver (1916), Monckton (1921, Ch. XXIV) Williams (1930: 152–4), and Crocombe and Hogbin (1963: 14–16), all suggest that valley populations such as Aiga, Sauaha and Dobudura originally lived near the mountain and were driven off.

So far, Orokaiva social philosophy looks notably like Hobbes' view of social life as it would be in a state of nature. Between the warring groups, certainly, there appears to be no justice or injustice, but only war, and 'force and fraud are, in war, the two cardinal virtues'. How can fiduciary social relations be established at all in a world of this kind? As we know, Hobbes argued that it could be done only by the establishment of central authority, a step the Orokaiva did not take.

In order to present, as fully as possible, how the Orokaiva answered this question, I shall begin by quoting a myth told to me by Gideon of Hamburata, a village in the Sasembata district.[1] I had asked Gideon to tell me the origin of feasts, then taped the reply and translated it from Orokaiva:

> I shall tell you how feasting began.
>
> Three men, after marrying wives, set out and settled by the root of a *barivo* tree. They had twelve children. When they had enough children, they built a house and founded a village. Then, deciding to leave, they made a feast by the root of that tree.
>
> They all collected taro, made a platform, prepared all the food and got ready. Gasi, the last-born son, tied together his taro for the feast, intending

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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because of the dangers he fears from contact with the female. By offering betelnut, woman overcomes this reluctance in man and draws him into the sexual exchange she desires.

5. *The Myth of Coconut and Betelnut*

Though we have now summarised the exchange cycles mediated by coconut and betelnut, we have not shown why these objects of mediation are considered to be efficacious in exchange. In past chapters we have explained efficacity in terms of indigenous philosophy. Indigenous logic generally relies on a myth in which a specific precept is either explicitly stated or implied. By giving this precept the status of an axiom, we can show by logical deduction that a thing (land, taro, pig, etc.) can have potency as an object of mediation in certain transactions.[2]

This kind of explanation of mediation draws on mythical sources much in the same way as Malinowski. Malinowski held that the 'function' of a myth is the charter it provides for customary rules. I can see no objection to this approach as long as we can be sure, from independent evidence, that charter and custom really coincide, which is not always the case, and as long as we check carefully how informants perform the logical deduction. If charter and custom do not coincide, we need to go beyond Malinowski's techniques of myth analysis and seek out the message by decoding the symbolic language of the myth. The betelnut myth already quoted provides an instance of discrepancy between myth and custom.[3] According to the myth it is the man who gives betelnut to the woman, whereas we know that in girls' initiation ritual and in courting custom, i.e. in the most structured betelnut presentations, the *woman* plays the role of donor and the plant is classified as feminine.

Such a discrepancy might easily be dismissed as too trivial for investigation but for the fact that it seems to be related to the disagreement between Mauss and Lévi-Strauss to which I referred earlier in this chapter. Mauss' theory of the gift would not easily explain this type of reversal, which would serve as a useful corroboration of Lévi-Strauss' contention that the 'contradiction' in the donor-recipient relationship may be illusory. I am not suggesting that his theory can be proved by empirical evidence, but only that it can be corroborated if we find evidence that Orokaiva informants do not treat exchange as purely magical, but recognise its synthetic character in their reasoning about myth, ritual and rules of behaviour.

The beginning of the myth to be discussed here is well-known; I was told it several times and Williams also recorded it (1928: 122). Here follows a summary of a version I collected on tape in the Orokaiva language: A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, has the misfortune to kill all the young men with whom she sleeps. Her breasts prick and kill them. She warns them to sleep against her back but they never follow this advice. The girl's brother becomes concerned and tells her that he personally will choose her next sleeping partner. He chooses his own *dambo*, i.e. his wife's brother. He tells his *dambo*:

> Because mistakes were made other bachelors have died, but, my *dambo*, my true *dambo*, she is going to sleep; she is going up to bed. Therefore see that all is properly prepared and the bed is properly made for sleeping.

241 About 2 acres of land held by the sample were being used for food gardens by members of other clans. If we assume that the parties periodically exercising reciprocal usufructuary rights to each others' land eventually use comparable areas, the number of acres of a patrilineal group's land cultivated over several years will be roughly equivalent to the total area which it has itself cultivated.

(126) Chain and compass surveys were made of all current gardens cultivated by the sample. These gardens ranged from plots overgrown with weeds, but still yielding taro or sweet potato, to newly cleared areas. Measurements of the areas which were cleared during the last 2 weeks of our survey were made hurriedly and are less accurate than the other figures. The time spent clearing new areas in each of these 2 weeks was more than the total time spent on gardening recorded in any previous week and the figures below at least give a fair indication of the significant size of new clearings in relation to other categories of the area under cultivation shown in Table 2. The lack of rain at the time made it impossible to plant any of the new areas immediately.

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Table 2

Current garden areas
(acres)

	Area per head of population	Area per able-bodied person (over 16)	Area per household	Total
Garden currently producing	0.14	0.27	0.57	6.86
Garden planted not yet producing	0.12	0.23	0.48	5.81
Garden cleared not yet planted	0.10	0.20	0.43	5.17
Total area under cultivation	0.36	0.70	1.48	17.84

The 0.36 acres of current garden per head of population compares with the figure of 0.31 at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:10).

The proportion of currently-producing gardens seems to have been unusually small at the time of our survey. Sixty-one per cent of the garden area had been brought under cultivation in the past 5 months (2.2 acres per month), whereas the rest was all that was still producing after cultivation during the year before that. Some households had planted, harvested and abandoned some plots in the meantime. Most of the gardens which were being harvested

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Many expatriate residents of Papua-New Guinea - public servants, missionaries and settlers - gave freely of their experience and provided practical assistance and hospitality. In particular, we are indebted to Mr and Mrs V. Cooke, Mr and Mrs R. Cheetham, Messrs W.J. Fielding and W. Johnston, Mr and Mrs R. Price, Mr G. Pritchard, Mr and Mrs C.E. Searle, and Messrs R. Spinks and L. Williams.

Instruments used in the gathering of meteorological information were lent by the Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology, Melbourne.

At the Australian National University, Drs D.G. Bettison and R.G. Crocombe conceived the original idea from which the study developed and gave advice in both its planning and execution. Mr G.R. Hogbin and Dr R.T. Shand also offered suggestions at various stages, while Dr H.C. Brookfield and Messrs E.K. Fisk and M. Rimoldi commented extensively on the drafts. Miss M. Rose wrote most of the computer programmes and Mr R. Watts also helped at a late stage; Mrs A.M. Johnson did much of the tabulating of data; Mr M. Pancino and other members of the Cartography Section drew the maps and diagrams, while Mrs A. Guenot typed the final draft, and in the process, reduced many of the tables to manageable proportions. Our debt to all these people is considerable for, in terms of the volume of data handled, the study was truly a co-operative effort.

554 councillor for the villages of Inonda, Ajoro, Hohota, Hosou and Seva. He is the senior resident member of the traditionally-dominant lineage and the trade store owner. He initiated the building of the copra-drier and takes the lead in most other new undertakings and at times of crisis or dispute, though his views are sometimes successfully opposed. In land matters he defers to or seeks the advice of the oldest male resident.

Economic holdings

241 The data on crop patterns and areas of subsistence gardens are presented with the data for 1962 given by Crocombe and Hogbin (1963:7-10). The figures for garden areas are not strictly comparable, since the 1964 data on garden areas, though not on crop numbers, were obtained by mapping from aerial photographs whereas the 1962 figures were calculated from the results of chain and compass surveys. This latter technique was used in 1964 for mapping the areas under taro and sweet potato. Other crop data were obtained by counts in the gardens. Information on holdings of economic trees and the inventories of household property were derived from interviews and were not checked on the ground, except for trees recently planted in the village surrounds.

[126]

[592] Although the mean size of household is 3.9 people, two households contain only one adult. There is considerable flexibility in residence and in arrangements for making gardens. For instance, the mother of the wife of one household head came to settle in the household permanently in July 1964; she maintains her own garden, which was cleared by her son and her daughter's husband. Another household comprises a widower who makes his own gardens and has the highest cultivated area of any household; however, his eldest son's wife, in a separate household, does some of his harvesting and prepares most of his meals. The widower also makes gardens for the widow who heads household 18. This woman lived with her two youngest children until August, when her eldest son and his family (household 21) moved into her house on the new village site. Another garden was made on her behalf by her brother in another village. Household 24 comprised the parents of two sisters who had married Inonda men. At first, they lived with household 23 at the old site but moved in October to join household 21. They maintain their own gardens.

(a) Food gardens

At the beginning of February 1964, the nine Inonda households were cultivating 27 gardens, at a mean distance from the village of 0.5 hours' walking time. In December 1964 the eight households remained after the departure of the Jego'undi man had 29 gardens at a mean distance of 0.3 hours' walking time.

Chapter 6

Activity patterns: Sivepe

125

Introduction

[126]

The Sivepe survey involved 35 adults (17 men and 18 women). Of these, 23 were resident in the village throughout, the remainder either commencing or terminating their residence during the survey period. In all, a total of 5,310 man-days was covered although, on account of temporary absences and sickness, detailed records were only kept for a shorter period. Of the total available labour time 6 per cent (320 man-days) was lost through absences longer than 24 hours and a further 4 per cent (212.4 man-days) through sickness within the village. However, during a single week in period I, at the height of an influenza epidemic, 29.6 per cent of potential labour time was unavailable (see Fig.6:1).

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(a) Temporary absences

A total of 453 man-nights was spent away from the village, or 8.5 per cent of all covered by the survey.[1] An analysis of reasons for absence is presented in Table 6:1. The major single cause, 36 per cent of the total, is visits to ex-servicemen settlers at Sangara, mostly by kinsmen[2] to assist in establishing the block. A further 26 per cent of absences involved garden work, either protecting the gardens from incursions by pigs, or facilitating intensive clearing programmes.

While the fulfilling of social obligations accounts for only 16 per cent of all absences, it involves the largest number of people (24 of a possible 35, compared with 13 for garden work and 5 at Sangara) and is characteristically of short duration, seldom more than one or two nights away from the village. By contrast, the

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[1] The difference between this and the figure of 6 per cent for man-days quoted above being that some of the nights involved absences of less than 24 hours duration.

[2] A daughter of one of the sample is married to a settler while a Jegase man from a neighbouring village also has a block at Sangara.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

Chapter 7

Activity patterns: Inonda

Introduction

Records were kept of the daily activities of the 19 permanent adult residents of Inonda and of 2 young people (one aged 15 and the other 16) who spent periods of a few weeks in the village helping kinsmen. These 21 people were regarded as residents for a total of 3,230 man-days. Temporary absences of more than 24 hours duration amounted to 560 man-days and so the number of man-days considered below amounts to 2,670. Table 7:1 shows the number of man-days absent in each recording period and in total.

The number of effective working days in the village is further reduced by sickness. When suffering from major illnesses such as malaria and influenza, people generally stay in bed at home or at the aid post. Comperatively minor ailments such as skin infections, tropical ulcers and cuts are usually dealt with by brief visits to the aid post, mostly early in the morning before work. Such visits occupied almost 600 man-hours over the survey.

Table 7:2 shows the incidence of sickness when people were inactive in the village. Periods of sickness spent at the aid post or hospital are included under 'Absences' in Table 7:1.

Figure 7:1 illustrates the weekly incidence of man-days occupied by sickness while in the village and by absence. There are wide fluctuations in the incidence of both, but particularly the latter, which ranges from zero to 46 man-days. The peaks of absences occur mainly with feasts in distant villages and when several villagers are sick at the same time and stay at the aid post or with relatives. Sickness tends to be most common during the wet season (periods I and III).

During the 2,670 man-days resident in the village, the activities carried out by the sample occupied 16,620 hours or 6.2 hours per person per day.

by the eldest daughter's husband from his current earnings, and $0.20 worth by the husband of another of the host's daughters from his current earnings. The only other foods contributed were three bunches of bananas and sixteen lengths of sugar cane by the host and four bunches of betel nut and one bundle of betel pepper by the eldest daughter's husband and his son.

It is apparent that the men's traditional role of supplying fresh meat is being replaced by an obligation to supply store foods. In addition, informants confirmed that the range of men participating in the contributions had decreased markedly. The reason for the large donation of store foods and betel nut by the eldest daughter's husband was that as his family had all been killed and his property destroyed in the Mt Lamington eruption, he had not paid any bride-wealth at the time of his marriage.

A blackboard was displayed bearing a notice to the effect that all persons who were in receipt of wages were expected to contribute fifty cents and all others twenty cents. The host sat at the end of the food table and collected the cash (while a research assistant recorded the details of contributions and contributors). While most visitors expected as a matter of course to make some offering, they were not prepared for a fixed fee. There was therefore some delay and it was not until it was announced that those who did not have the full amount could contribute whatever they had that the people could be persuaded to make their contributions and partake of the food. Over half of those present had no money and consequently refrained from eating, though some close relatives who did not contribute were fed in the background. Several visitors privately expressed resentment at being asked for a money contribution.[1]

Contributions were received from 64 persons and ranged from eight cents to a dollar. Of a total of $12.15 received we were able to account for $10.88. Those who had brought food did not bring money with the exception of the labourers from the contractor's camp on whose behalf their employer had contributed a pig, and the husband of one of the host's daughters (who had given twenty cents worth of food) who gave ten cents in cash. Over half the money ($5.78) came from 31 persons who had no kinship ties with this village but were employees of European planters and of a contractor in the area or were indigenous settlers from a government resettlement scheme nearby. Of the balance, $2.10 was given by 15 relatives of the host from three different villages and

[1] The labourers and settlers had been specifically invited to attend, but I am not aware of the extent of invitations sent to other villages.

The supplementary food plants provide both variety in the diet and some insurance against failure of either of the two main crops. Corn matures within two or three months and can be planted amongst the taro if a food shortage appears to be imminent. Both wild and cultivated sago is used as an emergency food. There is usually a shortage of garden crops at the end of the dry season, and this is overcome by making sago. Sago is only eaten at other times when large quantities of food are needed for feasts.

The boundary of a food garden remains recognizable for about three years from the time of clearing. By then the garden is covered with either regrowth or kunai and is no longer producing food. All food gardens with recognizable boundaries were surveyed by chain and compass and the area of each garden calculated.(1) The date on which the vegetation had been cleared for the preparation of each garden was determined as nearly as possible. The average area of land required for food gardens for the village as a whole was found to be 12.76 acres or 0.27 acres per head of population per year.(2) Areas of subsistence gardens at present being cultivated or from which food is currently being harvested are summarized in Table 2.

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(1) Maps on a scale of one inch to one hundred feet were drawn. These have been reduced photographically and are reproduced on pages 106-108.

(2) This figure was calculated by the following method. For each household, areas of all gardens with recognizable boundaries were determined and totalled. The date at which the oldest of these gardens was established was determined for each household. From this information the area of garden land required per month was established for each household. (For example if the total area of gardens made by a household over 27 months is 5.4 acres, then that household makes new gardens at the rate of 0.20 acres per month or 2.40 acres per year.) The area of new garden land brought under cultivation each month by the village as a whole was then calculated by totalling the area required per month by each household, and multiplied by 12 to give the area required per year. This figure divided by the population of the village, gave the area of land required for gardening per head of population per year. The area of 0.27 acres of garden land per head of population per year should not be confused with the area of land which people were cultivating at the time of the survey. This latter area (0.31 acres) includes land cleared but not planted, land planted with gardens not in production and land from which garden produce was being harvested at the time the survey was made. It does not relate to any period of time, but gives an indication of the area of land which the households were actually tending at that particular time.

A [See Category 102, pp. 106-108--Analyst]

Four Orokaiva cash croppers

R.G. Crocombe

121 The four entrepreneurs dealt with in this paper have established themselves by cash-cropping and have subsequently expanded into retail trading. These brief case studies seek to identify some of the factors which may facilitate the emergence of entrepreneurs and some of the inhibiting factors that restrict their success and future development. Where applicable, comparisons are made with villagers of two Orokaiva villages previously studied: Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963) and Sivepe (Rimoldi 1966).

Introduction

438 Before European contact there was some trading in ornaments, lime, pottery and woodenware among the Orokaiva, but nobody subsisted exclusively or even principally from their production or marketing. With the advent of Europeans the Orokaiva became familiar with the full-time entrepreneur who earned his living by selling wares produced by others, by providing services such as transport or the recruiting of labour, or by producing cash crops using hired labour. There are few Europeans in private enterprise in the area who do not engage in all three classes of enterprise.

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The advent of the entrepreneur resulted in significant changes in the Orokaiva way of life. New goods were made available and opportunities for paid employment were created. During the past two generations most Orokaiva men have had some direct contact with commercial enterprise, both as customers and as employees, but until recently few have had the capital or training to engage in the entrepreneurial roles themselves.

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Entrepreneurial activity (using the term to include trading and any regular income-earning activity which involves the employment of persons outside one's nuclear family) is a recent phenomenon among the Orokaiva.

Field work for this study was carried out in spare time during 1962-65, as a sideline to other studies, by the writer, assisted by Mr Cromwell Burau and Mr Edric Eupu. Information was collected on land and food gardens, cash crops, trading, processing, transport, other property, income, work patterns and community leadership.

101 114 126

Work patterns

Records of time spent in various tasks was kept by A for ten weeks, and by B and C for twenty weeks.[1] The results are summarised in Table 6. Records were also maintained for their families and these plus those for the entrepreneurs themselves are summarised in Table 7.

These tables show some marked differences between the work patterns of the entrepreneurs and those of villagers. The entrepreneurs spend less time on subsistence gardening than the villagers spend (5.7 as against 11.5 hours respectively), much less time in wage employment than villagers (nil as against 6.9), more than twenty times more in cash-cropping and trading (19.5 compared with 0.7), only a fraction of the time acquitting traditional social obligations (1.0 as against 8.7) but considerably more in community activities as officers of co-operatives, local government, church bodies and other public agencies (7.6 as against 0.5). The same trends are apparent, though not so marked in degree, where the entrepreneurs' families are included (Table 7).

Time spent on social obligations is kept to a bare minimum. This is facilitated to some extent by the fact that all the entrepreneurs live out of sight of the village houses. Nonconformity would be more difficult if they were living right in the village. During the twenty weeks' survey of B's family, for example, they took only one day off for each of two deaths in the village. Had they lived in the village they would have been involved for many days. In another instance which occurred before this study began, a classificatory brother of B's wife died in Inonda, just over the river from where he was living on his coffee block. After two days' brief formal participation in the mourning he removed to his Hohota house and worked on his cocoa there. Two days after the three weeks' mourning period at Inonda finished he returned to live at the coffee block. Had he remained at the coffee block during the mourning he could hardly have continued to work full-time on his cash crops. The Inonda villagers, by contrast, left cash-cropping entirely during this period.

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[1] The periods recorded were: A and his family ten weeks from 14 June to 23 August 1963; for B, twenty weeks from 1 September 1962 to 18 January 1963 and for C, five and a half weeks from 22 December 1965 to 29 January 1966. No records were made of D's work patterns. Watches and forms for recording work patterns were issued to A's eldest son, B's son and to C. For the first week either the writer, Mr Hogbin or Mr Burau lived with the people maintaining the records, but the period of our residence is not included above. One of us or Mr Eupu made visits to collect the records and discuss problems every few days.

19: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

II

My fieldwork in 1970 was planned to obtain Orokaiva texts describing and explaining the Orokaiva exchange system. In Sivepe, the principal village of my 1966–67 research, I found two very good Orokaiva informants willing to record on tape their reply to the question: 'what is exchange?'. The recordings, made in a single day, took the form of dialogues between the two informants after the style of radio interviews. I did not intervene except at the outset, to present the question.

Prior to the taped discussion, I tried to establish whether Orokaiva have any notions corresponding to Mauss's theory of the three general obligations of giving, receiving and repaying gifts. I had no difficulty in finding strong prescriptions for the first of these, namely giving. As for receiving and repaying, I searched assiduously for evidence of a general obligation but could find only a number of specific contexts where repayment was obligatory as well as some ritual contexts where receiving was obligatory. On the other hand, the general obligation to give turned out to be a key principle of Orokaiva ideology.

The verb for making a gift is *ikari* which also means 'to put down, to forward, to throw away' and in sexual intercourse, to ejaculate. In general, therefore, *ikari* implies a recipient, but not invariably. *Ikari* is ubiquitous in everyday life. A person makes and receives probably dozens of gifts in an average day. Nearly all these are small gifts which in themselves have little economic value: dishes of cooked taro, coconuts, areca nuts and the 'fixing' of betel nut, tauga nuts, tobacco and paper for rolling cigarettes. Some of these occasions for *ikari* involve two persons, donor and recipient, but many others involve several, namely one donor and several recipients. Coconuts, betel nuts, tauga nuts, tobacco are usually shared out by those who happen to have a supply to all those who happen to be around when the sharing out is done. The term for sharing out is *hande ari*; the word *hande* may be glossed as 'generous', 'generosity'. It applies irrespective of the economic value of the objects shared out. A man generous and clever in giving is called a *hande embo*.

This concept is distinct from that of reciprocity; the generous man is not, of course, he who gives when he expects a big return, but he who gives when he expects none. This aspect of *hande ari* is emphasised in ideological discourse, as an example of which I was quoted a simple story which, so I was told, Orokaiva parents teach their children. Some variants of this story are of great anthropological interest but the Orokaiva children's version given to me has the form of a simple moral tale.[4] The hero and his wife, both filthy, ill-dressed, covered in scabies, came from the coast to an inland village as part of a visiting party. The other members of the party were received hospitably and invited to stay in one or another of houses in the host village. The dishevelled couple, however, were left standing in the burning sun, as nobody wanted them for exchange partners. (Gift exchange partnerships between individuals tend to be established by just this kind of invitation by a man from the host group to a stranger from the guest group. When the stranger leaves for his home, his host

broader view of the social consequences of the eruption, and therefore included a third village, Hohorita, which lies at the centre of the area most deeply affected by the calamity. Sivepa, lying West of the volcano, escaped the full blast of the explosion; Inonda, to the East, was not directly affected at all, but Hohorita is a village made up of the survivors from Sangara villages situated in the blast area. Hohorita, as well as Kiorota which I visited briefly, has a far larger population than Orokaiva villages normally contain; these people were brought together, as a result of government organisation immediately after the eruption, from more than a dozen of the destroyed villages, comprise more than a dozen clans and constitute a new type of residential unit the origin of which may be directly traced to the eruption. Both Hohorita and Kiorota are situated on land owned by one of the constituent clans. With over 400 inhabitants, they face serious problems of factionalism. The government, which had an active hand in fostering them, had hoped they would solve basic problems of Orokaiva social fragmentation. In fact, one may almost say that the large consolidated village was a principal aim of government planning for the persons displaced by the eruption. Hence, it seems necessary to include consideration of this residential form in the present study.

Of the 12 months spent in the Territory of Papua, my wife and I lived in Orokaiva villages for more than 10 months, dividing the rest of the time between Port Moresby and the administrative centre of Popondetta. Most of the field period was spent in Sivepa, with three weeks in Inonda and five weeks in Hohorita. In Inonda we made use of a house previously used by the New Guinea Research Unit; in Sivepa a village house was built for us while at Hohorita we were squatting in an uncompleted village house--an unsatisfactory arrangement which accounts, in part, for the brevity of our stay. Fortunately, we had extremely competent research assistance at Hohorita, after we stopped residing there. The head teacher, Mr. Harold Heru, prepared extremely good genealogical records, showing residence of matrilateral and affinal kin as well as clan structure and residence.

The basic source of the material that follows are my own field notes. These are supplemented by government records, the publications on the Orokaiva and the eruption published by F. E. Williams, Reay, Belshaw, Keesing, Crocombe, Hogbin, Rimoldi, Waddell. I also collected tape recordings containing 50 basic documents in the Orokaiva language; transcriptions in Orokaiva and translations into English are available. A number of Europeans who were concerned with the administration of the temporary refugee camps were interviewed, including Dr. Gunther, Mr. F. Kaad, Mr. C. Searle, Mr. R. Hart and others too numerous to mention. Miss Nancy White, a mission teacher at Hohorita, apart from giving other help, put at my disposal a valuable collection of her diary notes, important letters written to her and Orokaiva texts collected at the Sasembata mission school in the years 1952 - 1953.

829 I thought at first that this representation of Orokaiva history
173 (from the dark ages into a great future) was put on specially for my benefit. When I found Orokaiva were talking to each other in precisely the same terms, I thought that this view was held perhaps principally by persons with a vested interest, such as councillors, committee, etc. However, as I stayed longer, and became somewhat more trusted, I could still find no trace of nostalgia for customs that had been abandoned. I did, of course, become aware of the deep attachment the Orokaiva have for those of their traditional customs which they still practise, and values which they still hold.

[124] I shall quote in detail one document, a tape recorded speech
[126] made by a councillor in the Orokaiva language, which is typical of the present Christian Orokaiva self-group image. I have a number of others, consistent with this one in essence, though differing in some details to which I shall draw attention. Though Councillor Colin's speech was specially made up to be recorded by me on tape, during a session when several other recordings were made, its general tenor was no different from the speeches he interminably made at other times. The only slant that may have been unusual was the extent to which he referred to past history. I had asked, on this occasion for stories of olden times (iji matu). The councillor started with a brief sketch of the wars of his forebears; he stressed that he and his listeners were the descendants of strong fighting men who killed wayfarers as though they were dogs, and who conquered the lands of others. "Now, there is a new day, and therefore we must be united." Later, the councillor described, for my benefit, some of the traditional magic. But, he said, people did not get paid jobs, but Jesus Christ (first) gave jobs for people to take. The village constable would drag them to Kokoda in chains for having told lies, and the magicians would be put to work to stop them from being convicted. They would be fired from their jobs for idling. Such were the old days.

[177] This story stressed the most widely accepted differences between the old and the new way of life: war vs. peace, danger vs. security, division vs. unity, magic vs. Christianity, poverty vs. wealth, simplicity vs. smartness. The councillor was, in every respect, in
[625] favour of the new and opposed to the old way. He was not actually criticising the government, when referring to the activities of the
[769] village constables; nor was he criticising the village constables. On the contrary, the village constables of the early contact period are greatly revered; their names are remembered and recited in much the same way as those of other renowned ancestors. Those who were handcuffed this is the indignity remembered above all else--were lacking in smartness they just did not know the tricks for keeping out of trouble. The village constables, as I was also told at Hohorita, were the men who brought peace, who saw that people did not continue to fight each other.

At Hohorita, I had a series of discussions, at which a number of men participated, about Orokaiva history. On a number of points, which I could check, I was given reliable information. I would therefor

159 external representation of Sivepe was at stake, the two men worked together admirably as a team. Lawrence solved the tricky problems of partitioning blocks shared between villages with a speed which would make any surveyor envious, and got agreement from the other parties because the solutions he proposed seemed fair. Robert carried out his own function of seeing that the working parties came together, that the clearing work was done for the survey posts, and so on. However, when I took them both to Popondetta in my car, they had very little to say to each other. When I told Lawrence who his companion was to be, he gave me a look of mock despair. (He had a different look of mock despair for my use of the Orokaiva language.)

[829] Robert was more deeply involved with mission values than any of the others. He was the only one to have recognised that our [176] civilisation actually does have some moral values. I recorded stories [179] from a great many informants on tape--the subjects being usually selected by the informant for these longer texts. Robert was the only one to have chosen themes overtly showing a mission influence: one story was about a Father Holland who was betrayed to the Japanese by Orokaiva during the war; the other story was his own version of Adam and Eve and the Fall, to which he gave a splendid Orokaiva twist: God, dismissing the couple from the Garden of Eden, said: "For a long time you will have sorrowful days and be sad, but also you will have happy days and be happy. Thus he spoke and all of us today live in this manner."

571 To conclude these impressionistic sketches, I shall suggest a 157 contrast between the leadership of Sivepe and Inonda. When we consider the two men just described, or Samuel, the village constable, Robert's father and the councillor, an immigrant from Binduta, we notice that none of them stood out from the rest of the village by superior wealth. Certainly, Robert's father once gave a big feast in Sivepe; he had some savings and gave another small feast while I was in the village, but he stood out mainly in virtue of his role and his personality. The councillor was a consummate actor who exuded a great air of authority while he was in the council. But in Inonda, the village constable, Oriri, was at the same time an entrepreneur, the first cash cropper. He was also the occupier of a strikingly larger area of land than anyone else had. His son, Stephen, the driver, likewise was very much an entrepreneur, both in his cash-cropping ventures and in his attempt at a trade store, at trading in coffee, in vegetables and lately, his application for a loan to start a cattle farm. He is not intending to do the farming himself, but wants to have a younger brother-in-law trained, and he is to work under Stephen's supervision.

Both Stephen and Oriri still continue their interest in traditional observances. The father, who lives on a returned serviceman's section where he grows cocoa, came back to his home village to act as feast leader in 1967. This was very much a traditional affair, with a proper feast house, a ceremony to call down the spirits, chants and dances for the spirits for several weeks, something Sivepe would